Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

W. W. Rockhill writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya* (*The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia*), 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

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9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24. They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ing-an. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the prince of Ning-ting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the first note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period. But he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used by Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning the Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs
177 from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

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175 the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

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It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[80] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

[80] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

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175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family? [81]

[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

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Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[82] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

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The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[83] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yen-hsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[82] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[83] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

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175 551 country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Li changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Po-chia hsing* the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

563 177 In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[24] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimaokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[24] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacré," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

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563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held 177 the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled 563 on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'wang*, 200–202.

[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gite* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

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tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

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623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of
184 the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

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604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562

Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

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When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

•177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country.[10] In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu[10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers; and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyuanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

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651 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
75 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned
467 to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations, with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed, the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

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by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this study of the origin and organization of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

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Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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177 563 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 563 421 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 161 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

• 197 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

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177 563 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

[P.131a]

/2 cont'd/

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> Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

583 431

/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the girl spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

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The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

●[177]

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and now," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in [77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the girls to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang [782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

597 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 177 583 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 178 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/103 cont'd/

Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

Mo [582]

Mo [582]

Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

Mo 582 587 177

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

Mo 582 587

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

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Mo 587 589 765 [177] [822] then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom, Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned Mo [847 848] or that they are drowned right-after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of Mo [792] the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [347 348]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

Mo 437 593 587 /143 cont'd/ nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the elders did not admit it. (1)

HT 437 587

1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. 'It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo 587 437 593 177 /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

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121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 177 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

164 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

177 which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

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585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Turgus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

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2: Schram--1971 M4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family. The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

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An Ing-tang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

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114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[197] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

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124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 192 177 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress of this first part excessively conveys my European technical terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or [198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibétan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs,
[177] casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

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The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

[792]

1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõñ. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and
292 in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They
[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the hang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles. represent long hair.

[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

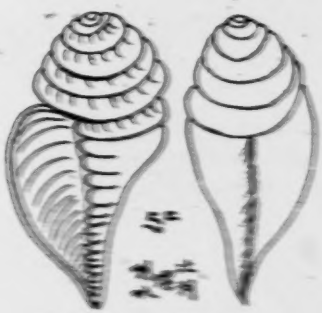

Fig. 6. Shells.

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however.-- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

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[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [177?] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzañ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, [177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.]
"evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

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Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (?).

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8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g.yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g.yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

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[782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

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[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

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[769]

Word List

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[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

[626 cont.]

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[354]

[177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

•[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three taǧur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

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Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the household altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

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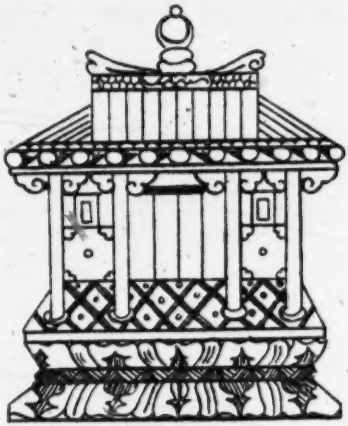

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

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764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

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Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 764 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

[776]

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sän tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

[123]

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, 465 to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons [604] who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

● [177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudĕ, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šăni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog̈, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.] following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

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given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration [177]

[642 cont.]

764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
795 no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
177 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

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The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[642 cont.]

764 [766] a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In 241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not 764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a 178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then 792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and 782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[646 cont.]

each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sēn-min is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their [178] headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the [177] cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

3: Schröder--245 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from [171] hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On the occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziañ (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. 752 Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bǒ. A Tujen bǒ once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bǒ or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 292 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest [177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] [527] [796] [778] These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cremate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

[574] [752] [778]

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

777 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ...
177 Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded
Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the
time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu,
Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one
thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then
one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the
doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the
Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to
the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uni-
form and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various
origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past
of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the
[779] middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and
Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation.
In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring
peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked
to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, ex-
tends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church.
Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shaman-
ism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not ques-
tions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen
alone. Their religion has a much more general significance.
To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be estab-
lished. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite
conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the
people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any
individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources
for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

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174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
●177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed.

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family starts losing its identity, no more children become lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was provided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BŐ*, the Monguors call them *BŌ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in their dialect. *BŐ* and *BŌ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and authors are even unable to find a definition with which they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes." [2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.]

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms.

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them.

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads.

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still persists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

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ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corveés were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part 1: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enrôll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

[p. 157(B)]

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two-hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese became more intensive through commercial relations. The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu institution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

[114(B)]

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N 563 M 614 622 128 179

on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bŭks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

M [191]

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bŭk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

N 563 175 M 175 179 614 622

/Kansu Monguors/

have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

N *563 M 614 554 423 N *563 M 614 175 648 179 N *563 M 614 554 N *563 M 614 565 554

groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

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N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [777] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not [777] allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888]

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

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N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [197] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society